

the free people of Taiwan. Taiwan leadership has repeatedly asked for our help in their quest for their people to have the last word in their own future.

Let me say that now is the time to help our friends on the island of Taiwan. We have been waiting far too long to respond to their aspirations and hope.

Accordingly, I ask that the full text of A.M. Rosenthal's articles be printed in the RECORD at this point.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 28, 1995]

YES, THERE IS A TAIWAN

(By A.M. Rosenthal)

TAIPEI, TAIWAN.—The trucks move day and night through the streets of Taiwan like creatures alive and wild with their own energy—shouting and singing through their loudspeakers, denouncing, trumpeting, cajoling, forbidding escape or the succor of a moment's silence.

The loudspeakers, mounted fore, aft and atop, deliver a gigantic rolling headache. But they also deliver the sound of democracy, to a small country new to it, and to a huge glowering country whose leaders detest the thought of it.

This is campaign time in Taiwan, a free campaign, fought hard, for the free election of a national legislature. It is the most important democratic step since 40 years of military rule ended in 1987 and the democratic process began on this island—an often-tested missile-distance across the waters from Communist China.

And next March an even more important election will take place. The people of the islands will take part in a direct presidential election—the first direct election of a national leader in the thousands of years of history of the Chinese people.

The economic development of Taiwan moves ahead smartly, and so does its democratic development. That is news of importance far beyond this island.

Asia has a batch of countries developing economically but not democratically. Just give Asians a full belly, the colonial West used to say. Now that is amended: Just give them a motorbike and big-screen TV.

Taiwan is crowded, its cities are messy and its roadsides junk-strewn. But politically it is becoming quite handsome, a living denial of the slur that Chinese are content to live without political freedom.

Westerners have a way of thinking of Taiwan in relation only to China and their own interests. Mostly they think nervously of how furious Beijing will get if the West gives any acknowledgment or respect to this island that the Communists say is their own province, now and forever.

The West trembles to breathe a word about allowing Taiwan to take part in international activities—even helping refugees. Its skin crawls with fear that Beijing will reduce the West's right to take part in the China trade and the privilege of buying from China billions of dollars more in goods than the West has any hope of ever selling to China.

The worldwide diplomatic blockade that Beijing has created against Taiwan is not the worst of it. When Beijing thinks that the substantial movement toward an independent Taiwan is getting stronger, or sees the horror of democracy rising on this prosperous island so close to the mainland, the Chinese Communists mount menacing military operations. No pretense is made that the exercise and the ugly warnings by top military men are not aimed at intimidating Taiwan and aborting its growing fascination with democratic practice. Expect more threats.

The people of the island, ethnically Chinese, descend either from families that have lived here for centuries or from immigrants who fled to Taiwan with Nationalist army when it was defeated by the Communists in 1949.

The ruling party is the Kuomintang, a meli- lowed offspring of the hard-handed party of Chiang Kai-shek. It is headed by President Lee Teng-hui. Mr. Lee gave Beijing a heart attack recently by visiting his American alma mater, Cornell University. Beijing has been trying ever since to give one apiece to him and the U.S. for such impertinence.

The Kuomintang stands for reunification with the mainland—some day, when Beijing manages to become non-Communist, and a convert to human rights. So the KMT is denounced by the New Party, made up of breakaway KMT hard-liners, as kind of Confucian Coalition.

The major opposition is the Democratic Progressive Party—strong for independence, but not ready to invite Communist attack by making a Taiwan July Fourth Declaration.

Panting for the China trade, the U.S. forbids Taiwan representatives to set foot in the State Department or White House. But the weeks of democratic campaigning prove that whether Beijing and its international business lobby approve or not, Taiwan has produced a prosperous, growingly democratic society of its own, separate in political practice and desire from the mainland.

Or, as it appears on posters around the island: "Yes, there is a Taiwan." Send in more trucks.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 1, 1995]

THE BLOCKADES OF TAIWAN

(By A.M. Rosenthal)

TAIPEI, TAIWAN.—They come almost every day now—the military threats to this island country from the Communist Government in Beijing.

Chinese Army commanders order repeated amphibious landings at the mainland coast nearest the island—the precise kind of operation that would be needed to invade Taiwan—and "tests" of missiles in the straits dividing China and the island. In recent days there has been a series of leaked reports that Beijing is considering a naval blockade of Taiwan.

Nobody knows whether the threats are meant only to frighten all Taiwanese into abandoning any thought of independence, however distant, or whether Beijing is readying its people and the world for an attack. If it does take place it is likely to be in the spring of 1996 before or after Taiwan holds its first direct presidential election.

But the evidence is that the military command is beginning to operate and plan independently of the civilian leadership in the Politburo.

This much seems clear from here: The West is operating on the assumption that if it says and does nothing, why, any dangers will vanish in a merciful blip.

The studious silence arises from the fundamental China policy of the West: Rock no Chinese boat lest Beijing throw easy Western access to the Chinese market overboard.

The West manages to maintain its silence because a Chinese blockade of Taiwan already exists: the political and diplomatic blockade created by Beijing after it took over the China seat in the U.N. in 1971.

The government on Taiwan was not only ousted from the U.N. but from the international community. Taiwan, one of the largest trading nations in the world, has been cut off from normal diplomatic and political relations with almost the whole world.

The U.S. maintains an "institute" in Taipei headed by a "director." But no flag is

flown outdoors to save Beijing a fit. In Washington, representatives of Taiwan cannot sully the State department or White House by their presence. So far, separate drinking fountains for Taiwanese representatives have not been set up.

Taiwan is not only barred from the U.N. but from all its many specialized agencies, including those supposed to deal with such universal subjects as health and agriculture—say, AIDS or starvation.

The blockade is so obsessively enforced that it even excludes aid to refugees. Last year the U.N. appealed for funds for Rwandan refugees, among the most suffering of God's human creatures. Taiwan offered \$2 million; refused. The Taiwanese did manage to get their gift accepted—by channeling it through an American committee for Unicef.

Correspondents from Taiwan are not permitted to enter the U.N. As a former reporter at the U.N., in its early days, I have thought of slipping my pass to a correspondent from Taiwan, to annoy U.N. authorities, but I decided it wouldn't work.

Before Beijing commanded the U.N., correspondents from non-member peoples were allowed in. I learned more about North Africa and Indonesia from independence-movement reporters than I ever did from the colonial French or Dutch.

North Korea and South Korea are members and so were East and West Germany. The Palestine Liberation Organization was given representation at the General Assembly with only a vote lacking.

But when China decided that any dreams of independence, sovereignty or even dignity that Taiwan might harbor were too dangerous to tolerate, this special apartheid was created for the island. The U.S. and most other U.N. members meekly kissed Beijing's iron slipper.

That means Taiwan cannot use an U.N. or any normal diplomatic channel to raise an alarm that had to be officially heard about the open military threats from Beijing. If any other country had threatened another so blatantly the case would immediately have been on the U.N. agenda.

Now of course most U.N. members, including the U.S., would be paralyzed with economic terror at the very idea of proposing that Taiwan as well as China be represented at the U.N. But perhaps Washington, London, Paris and Tokyo will dredge up enough courage to increase their own diplomatic contacts with Taiwan as a warning to China. Perhaps.

Until now the Chinese diplomatic blockade and Western submission to it have been merely disgusting. Now they are getting dangerous.

A BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE TO HIS MAJESTY KING RAMA IX OF THAILAND

HON. DANA ROHRBACHER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 5, 1995

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to extend my personal best regards and the respect and appreciation of all the members of the International Relations Committee on the occasion of the birthday of the King of Thailand, King Rama IX.

Earlier this year, all Members of the House of Representatives were relieved when the King made a complete and impressive recovery from surgery and regained his full strength.

December 5, 1995

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As I have said on the floor of the House before, the people of Thailand are blessed to have such a wise leader. We, in the United

States are blessed to be able to call King Bhumibol our friend.

I am honored, as the spokesman for my colleagues, to wish the King a happy birthday

and a long reign. I wish him and his family greetings and good health from his friends in the United States.